

## Pseudogapping

Office hours update: No office hours on week of Feb 17, week of Feb 24.

**Reminder:** Paper sketch due on 16/3.

Meet with me before Feb 17, or after study break, or email with thoughts and questions.

**Heads up:** HW assignment will include posting an example of ellipsis on the discussion board.

### 1 Some basic characteristics of pseudogapping

The Pseudogapping construction is generally considered to be an instance of VP ellipsis, combining properties of both VP ellipsis and Gapping.

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| (1) Mary invited John, and Abby will <del>invite</del> Tim.     | pseudogapping |
| (2) Mary invited John, but Abby didn't <del>invite John</del> . | VP ellipsis   |
| (3) Mary invited John, and Abby <del>invited</del> Tim.         | gapping       |

Like VP ellipsis, Pseudogapping has a finite auxiliary (*will*); and like gapping, it has a contrastive remnant (*Tim*). Unlike VP ellipsis, it's considered marginal in English.

This *remnant* can take different forms. By far, the best remnants are NPs or PPs.

- (4) You can't count on a stranger but you can ~~count~~ on a friend.  
 (5) Abby plays the piano better than her father does ~~play~~ the violin.

Adjectival remnants are degraded or maybe unacceptable.

- (6) \* You probably feel relieved, but I do ~~feel~~ jubilant.  
 (7) \* Rona sounded annoyed, and Sue did ~~sound~~ frustrated.  
 (8) These leeks taste terrible.  
 \* Your stakes will ~~taste~~ better.

Pseudogapping is quite bad with *have/might* pairs:

- (9) a. ? John tried peas and Mary did ~~try~~ beans.  
 b. ?\* John has tried peas and Mary might ~~try~~ beans.

Pseudogapping is also difficult when the remnant is in a preposed adjunct (Sag, 1976):

- (10) a. John eats peas but he doesn't ~~eat~~ beans.  
 b. \* Although John doesn't ~~eat~~ peas, he does eat beans.

Pseudogapping involves more than just V-deletion:

- (11) 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~~.  
 c. It doesn't bother Harry that Bill left, but it does ~~bother me that Bill left~~.

**The common wisdom:** Pseudogapping is VP ellipsis, with the survivor rescued by moving out of the elided VP. Jayaseelan (1990)

### 2 Jayaseelan (1990): A heavy NP-shift account

Notice: pseudogapping isn't good when the remnant isn't stressed. Pronouns resist stress.

- (12) Is she suing the hospital?  
 \* Yes, she is ~~suing~~ it.

Lets assume that the object needs to be at least somewhat heavy. Objects that are focused are "heavy" and can undergo "Focus NP-Shift," better known as "Heavy NP-Shift."

- (13) a. They [<sub>VP</sub> brought [<sub>NP</sub> the man who was being interrogated] into the room].  
 b. They [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> brought *t* into the room] [<sub>NP</sub> the man who was being interrogated]].

We also have the same HNPS option in dative constructions:

- (14) We gave *t*<sub>1</sub> to John on Friday [a brand-new toy]<sub>1</sub>. (Pesetsky, 1995, p. 249)

We can imagine that the same process allows us to move a NP across a particle in a verb-particle construction.

- (15) a. John [<sub>VP</sub> looked [<sub>NP</sub> the information] up].  
 b. John [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> looked *t* up] [<sub>NP</sub> the information]].

Two additional reasons to think that the movement is HNPS:

**Preposition stranding possibilities:** HNPS must pied-pipe prepositions, while *wh*-movement and raising allow preposition stranding:

- (16) a. John counted [<sub>PP</sub> on a total stranger] for support.  
 b. John counted for support on a total stranger.  
 c. \* John counted on for support a total stranger.  
 d. Who did John count on for support?  
 e. A total stranger was counted on for support.

**The double adjunction constraint:** Only one constituent may adjoin to VP. (17) shows this for extraposition and (18) for pseudogapping.

- (17) \* It proved to the jury his guilt that John was seen with the murder weapon.  
 (cf. It proved his guilt to the jury that John was seen with the murder weapon.)  
 (18) \* I didn't give a dime to Mary, but I did ~~give~~ a nickel to Jane.

The analysis on a nutshell:

- (19) Mary invited John, and Abby will [<sub>PP</sub> ~~invite *t*<sub>k</sub>~~] Tim<sub>k</sub>. HNPS

### 3 Lasnik (1999): An object shift account

Lasnik (1999): Jayaseelan (1990) is generally right, but the movement that gets the remnant out of VP is not Heavy NP-Shift but rather (overt) object shift.

**Argument 1:** The first object of a double-object construction can be a pseudogapping remnant, but it's resistant to HNPS.

- (20) a. ? John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Susan a lot of money.  
 b. \* John gave *t* a lot of money the fund for the preservation of VOS languages.

Conversely, the second object of a double-object construction is not a good pseudogapping remnant, but it's good with HNPS.

- (21) a. \* John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Bill a lot of advice.  
 b. ✓ John gave Bill yesterday *t* more money than he had ever seen.

**Excursion:**

Jayaseelan shows that prepositions can't be stranded in HNPS nor in pseudogapping, which is suggestive. Lasnik needs to find another explanation for this. This gets us into restrictions on movement territory.

The ECP (empty category principle) is a principle restricting possible  $\bar{A}$ -movement, proposed by various authors in the 80s, including Chomsky (1981); Huang (1982); Lasnik and Saito (1984).

- (22) **Original motivation for the ECP: "that-trace" effects**  
 a. \* Who do you think [that [*t* saw John]?  
 b. Who do you think [that [John saw *t*]?  
 (23) **Definition: The Empty Category Principle (ECP)**  
 A (non-pronominal) empty category must be 'properly governed'  
 (24) **Working definition of the ECP (in Hornstein and Weinberg 1995: 246)**  
 An empty category must be:  
 a. Lexically /head governed: governed by a lexical  $X_0$ , or  
 b. Antecedent governed: bound by (coindexed with and c-commanded by) a category that governs it  
 (25) **Definition of government:**  
 A governs B iff A c-commands B and there is no barrier C for B which excludes A.<sup>1</sup>

NB: This is generally a way to restrict movement of subjects and movement of adjuncts, which generally seem less freely movable than objects/complements.

**Reanalysis** in pseudo-passives eliminates a barrier and allows an NP-trace to be properly governed.

- (26) a. John<sub>i</sub> was laughed [<sub>PP</sub> at *t*<sub>i</sub>]  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> was [<sub>V</sub> laughed at] *t*<sub>i</sub> reanalysis

A second type of restriction on  $\bar{A}$ -bar movement is **minimality**: given two possible targets for Agree and Move operations, choose the one closer to the probe.

- (27) a. \* Who do you wonder [how [*t* bought the book]?  
 b. ?? What did you wonder [how [he bought *t*]?]

**End excursion**

<sup>1</sup>Of course, you have to define what a barrier is. There was extensive literature addressing this in the 80s and 90s.

**Argument 2:** Lasnik mentions 'reanalysis' in order to address Jayaseelan's (1990) argument from preposition stranding that pseudogapping involves HNPS. He argues instead for a correlation between the ability to reanalyze in pseudo-passives and availability of pseudo-gapping.

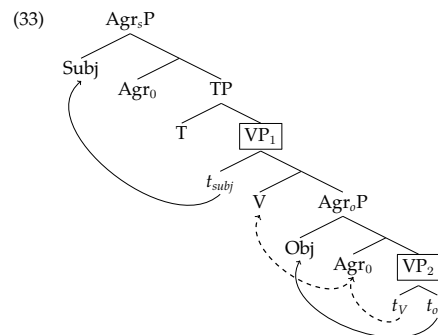
- (28) a. John spoke to Bill and Mary should speak to Susan.  
 b. Bill was spoken to by John.  
 (29) a. John talked about linguistics and Mary will talk about philosophy.  
 b. Linguistics was talked about by John.  
 (30) a. \* John swam beside Bill and Mary did swim beside Susan.  
 b. \* John was swum beside by Bill.  
 (31) a. \* John stood near Bill and Mary should stand near Susan.  
 b. \* Bill was stood beside by Bill.

Neither the good examples nor the bad ones are possible in HNPS:

- (32) 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 swam beside yesterday the man he met at the beach.  
 d. \* John stood near yesterday the man he met at the beach.

**Lasnik's proposal:** the remnant survives ellipsis through A-movement, specifically *overt object shift*.

This is based on Koizumi's (1995) idea of an extended VP shell (developing ideas by others). The idea is that there is a projection inside an extended VP projection where the object obligatorily raises to. The Verb then raises above that projection, to give us the right word-order.

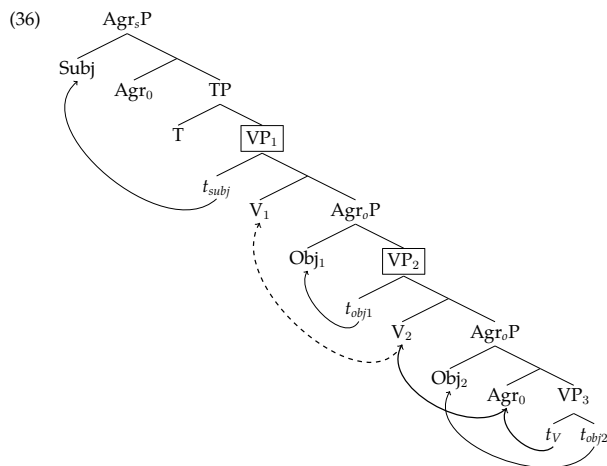


**Idea:** now there are two VPs that could be targeted for VP deletion. If we are able to leave the verb in-situ and target the lower VP for deletion, we could derive pseudogapping. If we target the higher VP for deletion, we get "normal" VP-deletion.

- (34) Mary invited John, and Abby will invite Tim. pseudogapping  
 ... and [<sub>TP</sub> Abby<sub>1</sub> will [<sub>VP1</sub> *t*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>AgrP</sub> Tim [<sub>VP2</sub> invite *t*<sub>2</sub> ]]]] object shift, cf (19)  
 (35) Mary invited John, and Abby will invite John, too. VP ellipsis  
 ... and [<sub>TP</sub> Abby<sub>1</sub> will [<sub>VP1</sub> *t*<sub>1</sub> [<sub>V</sub> invite [<sub>AgrP</sub> John [<sub>VP2</sub> *t*<sub>inmate</sub> *t*<sub>2</sub> ]]]]]

**Question:** Why can only the first object of a double-object construction be a pseudogapping remnant?

This goes back to the idea of *Minimality*: movement targets a higher goal before a lower one. There is no VP that contains the lower object that does not contain the higher one, which could be targeted for deletion.



However, there is a VP with a moved higher object that does not contain the lower one: VP<sub>2</sub>, which can be targeted for deletion.

- (37) John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give Susan a lot of money.  
 ... and [TP Mary<sub>1</sub> will [VP<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [Agr<sub>oP2</sub> Susan [VP<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub> [Agr<sub>oP3</sub> a lot of money<sub>3</sub> [VP<sub>3</sub> give t<sub>3</sub>]]]]]]]

Why can't you also raise V to VP<sub>1</sub>? That would yield the ungrammatical:

- (38) \* John gave Bill a lot of advice, and Mary gave Susan a lot of advice.

**Idea:** VP-ellipsis is triggered by a feature on T (we've been calling it the E-feature). An overt V<sub>1</sub> blocks the licensing relation between T and VP<sub>2</sub>—that is, this is a violation of Minimality.

If V raises, we can only target VP<sub>1</sub> for deletion, which would yield a VP-ellipsis construction:

- (39) John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will give John a lot of money, too.<sup>2</sup>  
 ... and [TP Mary<sub>1</sub> will [VP<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [V give<sub>1</sub> [Agr<sub>oP2</sub> John [VP<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub> [Agr<sub>oP3</sub> a lot of money<sub>3</sub> [VP<sub>3</sub> t<sub>3</sub>]]]]]]]]]

**On the marginal nature of pseudogapping:** Leaving the V in-situ means it has a strong feature that is not checked, but is then deleted at PF. Lasnik suggests that this is why pseudogapping is marginal in English: even though the structure is rescued at PF, there was still something wrong with it at some point in the derivation. That is not the case for VP-ellipsis: there are no violations at all so there is no need for a "fix" at PF.

<sup>2</sup>NB: \*...and Mary will give Susan a lot of money, because the antecedent and elided VPs are not identical.

## 4 Takahashi (2004): a mixed account

Takahashi (2004): You need pseudogapping based both on HNPS and on object shift!

A problem for Lasnik's account: sometimes it *is* possible to have pseudogapping with the second argument of a double-object construction.

- (40) a. Although John wouldn't give Bill the book, he would give Susan the book.  
 b. Although John wouldn't give Bill the book, he would give ~~Bill~~ the paper.

To derive (40b) under Lasnik's proposal, a non-constituent would have to be deleted.

- (41) Although John wouldn't give Bill the book, he would give ~~Bill~~ the paper.  
 ... [TP he<sub>1</sub> would [VP<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [Agr<sub>oP2</sub> ~~Bill~~<sub>2</sub> [VP<sub>2</sub> t<sub>2</sub> [Agr<sub>oP3</sub> [VP<sub>3</sub> give the paper ]]]]]]]]

Structure argued by Lasnik to be impossible because of a Minimality violation:

- (42) ... [TP he<sub>1</sub> would [VP<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> [Agr<sub>oP2</sub> the paper<sub>2</sub> [VP<sub>2</sub> give ~~Bill~~ t<sub>2</sub> ]]]]]]

But Lasnik is correct that HNPS can't move the indirect object, so we can't use the HNPS analysis to derive (40a).

Moreover, HNPS can't move more than one object at a time.

- (43) a. \* John gave t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2</sub> yesterday [the tall man]<sub>1</sub> [the book written by the professor at MIT]<sub>2</sub>.  
 b. \* Sue gave t<sub>1</sub> t<sub>2</sub> on Friday [the book about HNPS]<sub>1</sub> [to the student who works on Parasitic Gaps]<sub>2</sub>.

This predicts that pseudogapping with multiple remnants should be impossible, contrary to fact. We can have two remnants in the dative construction; pseudogapping is degraded in the double object construction, for reasons we don't understand.<sup>3</sup>

- (44) a. Although John would give a book to Mary, he wouldn't give a paper to Susan.  
 b. John would give a book to Mary more often than he would give a paper to Susan.  
 a. ?? Although John would give Bill a book, he wouldn't give Susan a paper.  
 b. ? John would give Bill a book more often than he would give Susan a paper.

**Proposal:** Both HNPS and object shift exist in natural language, why not have both feed pseudogapping?

- (45) ... [TP he<sub>1</sub> would [VP [VP t<sub>1</sub> give ~~Bill~~ t<sub>2</sub>] the paper<sub>2</sub> ]]] HNPS

- (46) ... [TP he<sub>1</sub> would [VP Susan<sub>2</sub> [VP t<sub>1</sub> give t<sub>2</sub> the book]]]] object shift

☞ It is possible, in many cases, to have either a object shift or a HNPS analysis. Having more than one possible source derivation is of course not a problem. There are other cases, like in (45)-(46), when only one derivation is possible and other is ruled out.

<sup>3</sup>Bowers (1998) notes that the comparative construction seems to improve the overall status of the examples. This is reminiscent of something that came up in class a few weeks ago.

One last issue: the distribution of contraction in pseudogapping.

Recall that contraction is not possible before an ellipsis site:

- (47) a. John is leaving and Mary is, too.  
b. \*John is leaving and Mary's, too.  
c. John is leaving but Mary's not.

Under the current proposal, pseudogapping with an indirect object remnant in a double-object construction has to be derived from an object shift analysis:

- (48) a. Although he wouldn't give Bill the book, he would Susan.  
b. ... [TP he<sub>1</sub> would [XP Susan<sub>2</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>1</sub> give t<sub>2</sub> the book]]]

This structure predicts that contraction should be possible, because there is overt material between the auxiliary and the ellipsis site. However, that is not the case.

- (49) a. \*Although I didn't give Mary a book, I'll Sue.  
b. Although I didn't give Mary a book, I will Sue.

Takahashi proposes to think about the licensing conditions of contraction differently. This may be relevant for the discussion we had in class last week.

- (50) **Licensing condition on VP-ellipsis:**  
VP-ellipsis must be licensed by a non-contracted licensing head.

First, note that sometimes it's possible to contract a negation:

- (51) John is leaving, but Mary isn't.

Second, as background, observe that no element under T node can appear overtly in subjunctive complements:

- (52) \*Jack asks that we do not/ don't cut down his beanstalk just yet. (Potsdam, 1997, p. 536)

Under the assumption that VP-ellipsis requires an overt licensing head, we expect that VP-ellipsis is not allowed in subjunctive complement and this is what we observe in (53a). However, VP-ellipsis becomes possible if there is negation, as shown in (53b).

- (53) a. \*We think that Mary should present her case to the committee and we ask that Bill too.  
b. We think that Mary should present her case but we will ask that Bill not.  
(Potsdam, 1997, p. 538)

The fact that (53b) is grammatical indicates that negation is a licensing head for VP-ellipsis.

- ☞ The impossibility of contraction in (49) is explained because the tensed auxiliary *will* is the licensing head.
- ☞ The good example (51) is explained because although negation is contracted, the auxiliary is not and it can act as the licensing head.
- ☞ The good example (53b) is explained because negation can act as the licensing head.

## 5 Hebrew elicitations! 3rd time's the charm?

Lets do some Hebrew elicitations to learn more about ellipsis constructions in Hebrew. This is a useful exercise in how to approach data collection in a language you don't speak, and is useful in case you choose to write a final paper that involves data from a non-English language.

- ☞ Some common names, predicates
- ☞ Basic clause structure
  - Agreement
  - Case marking
- ☞ Permutations of word order
- ☞ Questions of your choice!

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