

When even repair fails The case of sluicing

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck
CRISSP/Hogeschool-Universiteit Brussel
zorex@me.com
www.jeroenvancraenenbroeck.com

MAIN TOPIC

The use of non-isomorphic ellipsis sites as a repair strategy in sluicing

CENTRAL DATA

The interaction between repair and morphological case marking

MAIN GIST OF THE ANALYSIS

Isomorphism between antecedent and ellipsis site is determined both globally (semantic parallelism) and locally, i.e. for every individual feature bundle

OUTLINE OF THE TALK

1. Some background: sluicing and isomorphism
2. **Repair**: copular clauses and preposition stranding
3. **Failure to repair**: morphological case blocks a copular source
4. **Repairing the failure to repair**: non-isomorphic case matching and syncretism
5. The analysis: implementing isomorphism
6. The broader picture: good news and bad news
7. Summary and conclusions

1. Some background: sluicing and isomorphism

- (1) John saw someone, but I don't know who.

question: assuming there is unpronounced syntactic structure in sluicing, how can we determine what exactly it looks like?

option (i): the sluiced clause in (1) is derived from a regular, full wh-question (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001):

- (2) John saw someone, but I don't know who ~~John saw~~.

option (ii): the sluiced clause in (1) is derived from an underlying copular clause (Erteschik-Shir 1977, Pollman 1975):

- (3) John saw someone, but I don't know who ~~it was~~.

more generally: the question raised here is to what extent or in what way an ellipsis site has to be isomorphic or parallel to its antecedent:

Fiengo & May (1994): structural, syntactic parallelism is required
→ only option (i) is allowed

Merchant (2001): semantic parallelism (mutual entailment) is required
→ both option (i) and option (ii) are allowed

in this talk I argue:

- that both (2) and (3) are in principle viable analyses of the example in (1);
- that the isomorphism requirement on sluicing is partly semantic, partly morphosyntactic

2. Repair: copular clauses and preposition stranding

2.1 Introduction: Merchant's (2001) P-stranding generalization

- (4) **P-stranding generalization (PSG)** (Merchant 2001:92)
A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement.

English: P-stranding

- (5) Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know (with) who.
(6) Who was Peter talking with?

Greek: no P-stranding

- (7) I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero *(me) pjon.
 the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know with who
 ‘Anna spoke with someone, but I don’t know with who.’
- (8) * Pjon milise me?
 who she.spoke with
 INTENDED: ‘Who did she speak with?’ (Greek, Merchant 2001:94)

2.2 Apparent exceptions to the PSG: copular clauses to the rescue

Spanish (Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, Vicente 2008)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

- (9) * ¿Qué chica rubia ha hablado Juan con?
 what girl blonde has talked Juan with
 INTENDED: ‘What blonde girl did Juan talk to?’

P-stranding under sluicing

- (10) Juan ha hablado con una chica rubia, pero no sé cuál
 Juan has talked with a girl blonde but not know which
 ‘Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don’t know which.’

Vicente (2008): P-stranding violations under sluicing in Spanish do not derive from a regular wh-question, but from an underlying copular clause:

- (11) Juan ha hablado con una chica
 Juan has talked with a girl
 pero no sé cuál ~~es pro.~~
 but not know which is it
 ‘Juan talked to a girl, but I don’t know which girl it was.’

supporting evidence: sluicing and *else*-modification

copular clauses are incompatible with else-modification

- (12) * Juan ha hablado con una chica rubia, pero no sé
 Juan has talked with a girl blonde but not know
 qué chica más es *pro.*
 what girl else is it
 *‘Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don’t know to what other girl it was.’

no P-stranding under sluicing with else-modification

- (13) * Juan ha hablado con una chica rubia, pero no sé
 Juan has talked with a girl blonde but not know
 qué chica más.
 what girl else
 ‘Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don’t know what other girl.’

control: else-modification is allowed in regular (= non-P-stranding) sluicing

- (14) Juan ha hablado con una chica rubia, pero no sé
 Juan has talked with a girl blonde but not know
 con qué chica más.
 with what girl else
 ‘Juan talked to a blonde girl, but I don’t know to what other girl.’

2.3 Conclusion

Copular clauses can be used in sluicing to repair preposition stranding violations. More generally, a non-isomorphic ellipsis site repairs a violation that would have been incurred in the corresponding isomorphic ellipsis site.

note: these observations don’t just hold for Spanish, but also French, Italian (Vicente 2008), Dutch, and possibly English (Van Craenenbroeck 2004, Fortin 2007) and Brazilian Portuguese (Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, *pace* Almeida & Yoshida 2007)

3. Failure to repair: morphological case blocks a copular source

prediction: if copular clauses are used to circumvent an otherwise unavoidable preposition stranding violation, this should be easily detectable in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases

3.1 Introduction: no copular rescue in Greek

(Merchant 2001:94,127; A. Giannakidou p.c., A. Alexiadou p.c., M. Lekakou p.c.)

setting the scene: case, copular clauses and P-stranding in Greek

accusative case for the object of a preposition

- (15) Me pjon milise?
 with who.ACC she.spoke
 ‘With whom did she speak?’

nominative case for the pivot of a copular clause

- (16) Dhen ksero pjos itan.
not I.know who.NOM it.was
'I don't know who it was.'

no P-stranding in a regular wb-question

- (17) * Pjon milise me?
who.ACC she.spoke with
INTENDED: 'Who did she speak with?'

testing the prediction: P-stranding under sluicing in Greek*P-stranding under sluicing with an accusative wb-phrase*

- (18) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjon.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.ACC
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wb-phrase

- (19) * I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

note: the ill-formedness of (18) is expected given (17), but the ill-formedness of (19) is puzzling, esp. given the fact that (20) is perfectly well-formed, i.e. Greek has a perfectly acceptable copular clause alternative for the P-stranding violation in (18), but doesn't use it under sluicing.

- (20) I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero pjos itan.
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM it.was
'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2 Expanding the data set**3.2.1 Czech** (Merchant 2001:96; J. Dotlačil p.c., R. Šimik p.c.)*no P-stranding in regular wb-questions*

- (21) * Kým mluvila Anna s?
who.INSTR spoke Anna with
INTENDED: 'Who did Anna speak with?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wb-phrase

- (22) * Anna mluvila s někým, ale nevím kým.
Anna spoke with someone but not.I.know who.INSTR
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wb-phrase

- (23) * Anna mluvila s někým, ale nevím kdo.
Anna spoke with someone but not.I.know who.NOM
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical copular clause alternative

- (24) Anna mluvila s někým, ale nevím kdo to byl.
Anna spoke with someone but not.I.know who.NOM it was
'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2.2 Slovene (Merchant 2001:97; T. Marvin p.c.)*no P-stranding in regular wb-questions*

- (25) * Kom je govorila Anna s?
who.INSTR AUX spoke Anna with
INTENDED: 'Who did Anna speak with?'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wb-phrase

- (26) * Anna je govorila z nekom, ampak ne vem kom.
Anna AUX spoke with someone but not I.know who.INSTR
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wb-phrase

- (27) * Anna je govorila z nekom, ampak ne vem kdo.
Anna AUX spoke with someone but not I.know who.NOM
INTENDED: 'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who.'

non-elliptical copular clause alternative

- (28) Anna je govorila z nekom, ampak ne vem
Anna AUX spoke with someone but not I.know
kdo je to bil.
who.NOM AUX it been
'Anna spoke with someone, but I don't know who it was.'

3.2.3 Hungarian (A. Lipták p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

- (29) * János kin kapott híreket keresztül?
 János who.SUBL got news across
 INTENDED: ‘Via who did János get some news?’

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase

- (30) * János híreket kapott valakin keresztül,
 János news got someone.SUBL across
 de nem tudom kin.
 but not I.know who.SUBL
 INTENDED: ‘János got some news via someone, but I don’t know who.’

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase

- (31) * János híreket kapott valakin keresztül,
 János news got someone.SUBL across
 de nem tudom ki.
 but not I.know who.NOM
 INTENDED: ‘János got some news via someone, but I don’t know who.’

non-elliptical cleft alternative

- (32) János híreket kapott valakin keresztül,
 János news got someone.SUBL across
 de nem tudom ki voltaz, akin keresztül híreket kapott.
 but not I.know who.NOM was thatREL across news got
 ‘János got some news via someone, but I don’t know who it was via whom he got some news.’

3.2.4 Hindi (Merchant 2001:100; Dave e.a. 2002:29; R. Bhatt p.c.)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

- (33) * Kis dukaan John gayaa mein?
 which shop John go to
 INTENDED: ‘Which shop did John go into?’

no P-stranding under sluicing with a non-nominative wh-phrase

- (34) * Gautamne kisi se baat kii thii,
 Gatuam.ERG someone with talk do PAST
 lekin mujhe pataa nahī̃ kis.
 but I.DAT knowledge NEG who.OBL
 INTENDED: ‘Gautam spoke with someone, but I don’t know who.’

no P-stranding under sluicing with a nominative wh-phrase

- (35) * Gautamne kisi se baat kii thii,
 Gatuam.ERG someone with talk do PAST
 lekin mujhe pataa nahī̃ kaun.
 but I.DAT knowledge NEG who.NOM
 INTENDED: ‘Gautam spoke with someone, but I don’t know who.’

non-elliptical copular clause alternative

- (36) Gautamne kisi se baat kii thii,
 Gatuam.ERG someone with talk do PAST
 lekin mujhe nahī̃ pataa ki vo kaun thaa.
 but I.DAT NEG knowledge thathe who.NOM was
 ‘Gautam spoke with someone, but I don’t know who he was.’

3.3 Conclusion

Copular clauses cannot be used to repair preposition stranding violations in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases. Informally, it looks like repair is allowed as long as it is not visible in the surface representation (LF can know that there is non-isomorphism in the ellipsis site, but PF cannot).

4. Repairing the failure to repair: non-isomorphic case matching and syncretism

prediction: if a language with morphological case marking allows a non-isomorphic ellipsis site that yields the same case on the remnant as the isomorphic ellipsis site, repair should re-emerge (PF is fooled into thinking isomorphism is respected)

4.1 PSG-violations in Polish (Szczegielniak 2005, 2008)

no P-stranding in regular wh-questions

(37) * Którym Anna tańczyła z mężczyzną?
 which Anna danced with man
 INTENDED: 'Which man did Anna dance with?'

(38) * Którym mężczyzną Anna tańczyła z?
 which man Anna danced with
 INTENDED: 'Which man did Anna dance with?'

P-stranding under sluicing

(39) Anna tańczyła z jednym mężczyzną ale nie wiem którym.
 Anna danced with one man but not know which
 'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know which.'

Szczegielniak (2008): P-stranding violations under sluicing in Polish do not derive from regular wh-questions, but from an underlying cleft:

(40) Anna tańczyła z jednym mężczyzną ale nie wiem
 Anna danced with one man but not know
 którym to z — mężczyzną — (ona) tańczyła
 which it with man she danced
 'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know which (man it was with which she danced).'

supporting evidence: no cleft rescue with simple wh-phrases

no P-stranding under sluicing with simple wh-phrases

(41) * Anna tańczyła z jednym mężczyzną ale nie wiem kim.
 Anna danced with one man but not know who
 INTENDED: 'Anna danced with a man, but I don't know who.'

no clefts with simple wh-phrases as pivots

(42) * Kim to z ona tańczyła?
 who it with she danced
 INTENDED: 'Who was it that she danced with?'

→ at first sight, Polish contradicts the generalization that languages with morphological case-marking do not allow for elliptical repair of preposition stranding violations

however: the particular cleft strategy that Polish employs is case-sensitive, i.e. it bears the case assigned by the preposition (Szczegielniak 2008:406):

(43) Którym to z mężczyzną ona tańczyła?
 which.ACC it with man she danced
 'Which man was it with which she danced?'

→ this shows that elliptical repair *is* allowed in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases, but only when the case assigned by the non-isomorphic ellipsis site is the same as that assigned by the isomorphic one

4.2 Case syncretism in Greek and German (A. Giannakidou p.c., T. Klein p.c.)

nominative and accusative are syncretic with the neuter wh-phrase ti 'what' in Greek

(44) Ti eginē?
 what_{NOM} happened
 'What happened?'

(45) Se ti anakateftikes?
 in what_{ACC} mixed.up.2SG
 'What did you get mixed up in?'

with this form P-stranding under sluicing is well-formed

(46) O Giannis anakateftike se kati, ala dhen ksero (se) ti.
 the Giannis mixed.up.3s in something but not I.know in what
 'Giannis got mixed up in something, but I don't know what.'

nominative and accusative are syncretic with the neuter wh-phrase was 'what' in German

(47) Was ist passiert?
 what_{NOM} is happened
 'What happened?'

(48) An was hat Rudolf dich erinnert?
 to what_{ACC} has R. you reminded
 'What has Rudolf reminded you of?'

with this form P-stranding under sluicing is well-formed

- (49) Rudolf hat mich an etwas erinnert, aber ich weiß nicht mehr
 R. has me to something reminded but I know not anymore
 (an) was.
 to what
 ‘Rudolf has reminded me of something, but I don’t recall what.’

→ this shows that copular repair *is* allowed in languages with morphological case marking on wh-phrases when (the case on) the wh-phrase is simultaneously compatible with an isomorphic and a non-isomorphic source

important caveat: judgments concerning (syncretism and) morphological case are notoriously subtle and subject to inter-speaker variation (cf. Pullum & Zwicky 1986:759, Ingria 1990:203). In particular, for syncretic complex wh-phrases the results are—at this point—less clear-cut. The effect of D-linking/structural complexity on instances of (apparent) P-stranding under sluicing might be an interfering orthogonal factor here (cf. also Nevins, Rodriguez & Vicente 2007, Barros 2008, Van Craenenbroeck 2004:40-42 for related discussion)

4.3 Conclusion

Copular rescue is allowed in languages with morphological case marking if the surface form of the sluiced wh-phrase is simultaneously compatible with both the isomorphic and the non-isomorphic source.

5. The analysis: implementing isomorphism

main idea: the case facts show that the recoverability requirement on sluicing doesn’t just apply wholesale to the entire elided constituent, but that recoverability must also be assessed at a local, morphosyntactic level

5.1 Chung (2005): sluicing cares about words

- (50) a. * They sent the package—find out who ~~they sent the package to~~.
 b. * Mary was flirting, but they wouldn’t say who ~~Mary was flirting with~~.
 c. * We’re donating our car, but it’s unclear which organization ~~we’re donating our car to~~.

→ in these examples ellipsis site and antecedent mutually entail one another → a purely semantic isomorphism requirement on sluicing does not suffice

→ on the other hand, copular rescue shows that a strictly syntactic isomorphism requirement fails to capture the facts as well

Chung (2005): semantic licensing needs to be supplemented by an additional lexical requirement:

- (51) NO NEW WORDS: Every lexical item in the numeration of the sluice that ends up (only) in the elided IP must be identical to an item in the numeration of the antecedent CP.

5.2 Local isomorphism

proposal: Sluicing is recoverable iff

- (i) the elided TP is in a mutual entailment relation with a salient antecedent TP (*global isomorphism*), and
- (ii) every terminal node (i.e. every morphosyntactic feature bundle) in the elided TP has an appropriate antecedent in the antecedent TP (*local isomorphism*)

→ local isomorphism is the translation of Chung’s NO NEW WORDS into a Late Insertion model: it applies to morphosyntactic feature bundles, not to actual lexical items

5.3 Some sample derivations

5.3.1 Baseline data: isomorphic ellipsis site

- (52) [_{TP_A} Rudolf hat jemand-en gesehen], aber ich weiß nicht
 R. has someone-ACC seen but I know not
 we-n [_{TP_E} Rudolf we-n gesehen hat].
 who-ACC R. who-ACC seen has

evaluation

- global isomorphism: ok (TP_A and TP_E mutually entail one another)
- in order to evaluate local isomorphism, we need to determine the set of morphosyntactic feature bundles in TP_E:

<i>Rudolf</i>	←	N _[+PN, +count, ...]
<i>hat</i>	←	T _[+pres]
<i>gesehen</i>	←	V _[+part]
<i>-n</i>	←	K _[+ACC]
<i>we-</i>	←	D _[+3]

- local isomorphism: [feature bundle in TP_E] is anteceded by [lexical item in TP_A]

N _[+PN, +count, ...]	<i>Rudolf</i>
T _[+pres]	<i>hat</i>
V _[+part]	<i>geseben</i>
K _[+ACC]	<i>-n</i>
D _[+∃]	<i>jemand</i>

→ given that both global and local isomorphism are satisfied, ellipsis is recoverable and (52) is well-formed

5.3.2 Repair: copular rescue

- (53) [TP_A Juan ha hablado con una chica]
 Juan has talked with a girl
 pero no sé cuál [TP_E es *pro* cuál].
 but not know which is it which
 ‘Juan talked to a girl, but I don’t know which girl it was.’

evaluation

- global isomorphism: ok
 - [[TP_A]] = ∃ x, girl (x). John spoke with x
 - [[TP_E]] = ∃ y, the girl John spoke with is y
- local isomorphism: [feature bundle in TP_E] is anteceded by [lexical item in TP_A]

D _[+∃] (<i>cuál</i>)	<i>una</i>
T _[+pres] (<i>es</i>)	<i>ha</i>

- assumption: expletive *pro* is trivially recoverable

→ given that both global and local isomorphism are satisfied, ellipsis is recoverable and (53) is well-formed

5.3.3 Failure to repair: lack of copular rescue with morphological case marking

- (54) * [TP_A I Anna milise me kapjo-n], alla dhe ksero
 the Anna spoke with someone-NOM but not I.know
 pjo-s [TP_E pjo-s itan].
 who-NOM who-NOM it.was
 ‘Anna spoke with someone, but I don’t know who it was.’

evaluation

- global isomorphism: ok
 - [[TP_A]] = ∃ x, Anna spoke with x
 - [[TP_E]] = ∃ y, the person Anna spoke with is y
- local isomorphism: [feature bundle in TP_E] is anteceded by [lexical item in TP_A]

D _[+∃] (<i>pjo-</i>)	<i>kapjo-</i>
T _[+past] (<i>itan</i>)	<i>milise</i>

however: K_[+NOM] (*-s*) is **not** anteceded by *-n*

→ given that local isomorphism is not satisfied, ellipsis is not recoverable and (54) is not well-formed

5.3.4 Repairing the failure to repair: case syncretism

- (55) [TP_A O Giannis anakatefike se kati], ala dhen ksero
 the Giannis mixed.up.3s in something-ACC but not I.know
 ti [TP_E ti itan]
 what-NOM what-NOM it.was
 ‘Giannis got mixed up in something, but I don’t know what.’

question: why doesn’t the nominative of *ti* ‘what’ clash with the accusative of *kati* ‘something’?

answer: because syncretism is the result of Impoverishment (cf. Bobaljik 2002, Müller 2004, Calabrese 2008 and many others) and Impoverishment deletes the offending features prior to ellipsis (and hence prior to the calculation of local isomorphism)

step one: a feature decomposition of the case system (Müller 2004):

(56)		OBLIQUE	GOVERNED
	NOM	-	-
	ACC	-	+
	GEN	+	-
	DAT	+	+

→ the wh-phrase in (55) is marked [-oblique, -governed]

step two: Impoverishment yielding NOM/ACC-syncretism in neuter singular

- (57) [±governed, -oblique] → [-oblique] / ___ [+neuter, +singular]

→ after Impoverishment, the wh-phrase is marked [-oblique]

evaluation

- global isomorphism: ok
 - $\llbracket \text{TP}_A \rrbracket = \exists x$. Giannis got mixed up in x
 - $\llbracket \text{TP}_E \rrbracket = \exists y$. the thing Giannis got mixed up in is y
- local isomorphism: is anteceded by

$D_{[+\exists]}$ (<i>ti</i>)	<i>kati</i>
$T_{[+\text{past}]}$ (<i>ítan</i>)	<i>anakateftike</i>
$K_{[-\text{obl}]}$	<i>kati</i>

→ given that both global and local isomorphism are satisfied, ellipsis is recoverable and (55) is well-formed

5.4 Conclusion

Semantic isomorphism needs to be supplemented by a local isomorphism condition that operates on each individual terminal node, i.e. each morphosyntactic feature bundle. Satisfaction of this requirement is checked after Impoverishment and prior to vocabulary insertion.

note: one way to make this ordering fall out naturally would be to make ellipsis a subspecies of vocabulary insertion (i.e. failure to insert a vocabulary item, subject to the condition of local isomorphism)

6. The broader picture: good news and bad news

- in a nutshell:**
- local isomorphism effects show up in other types of ellipsis as well (good news)
 - ellipsis site and antecedent sometimes differ from one another in ways not expected under local isomorphism (bad news)

6.1 The good news

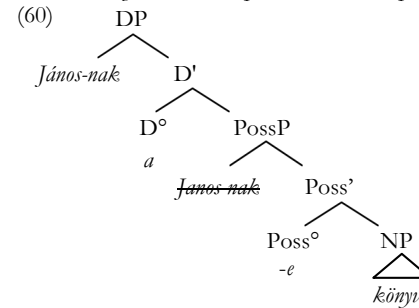
prediction: local isomorphism should also restrict the form of elements moving out of ellipsis sites in constructions other than sluicing

6.1.1 Hungarian NP-ellipsis

Hungarian has both nominative and dative possessors

(58)	a	János	könyve	(59)	Jánosnak	a	könyve
		the	János.NOM		Janos.DAT	the	book.POSS
			'Janos's book'				'Janos's book'

standard analysis: the dative possessor moves to specDP (Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 2002)



prediction: in NP-ellipsis licensed by D° (i.e. PossP-ellipsis), the morphological case marking on the raised possessor should be subject to local isomorphism

prediction is borne out: only dative-marked possessors can antecede dative-marked possessors in NP-ellipsis

(61)

a.	Jánosnak	a	háza	szebb,	mint	Marinak.
	János.DAT	the	house	more.beautiful	than	Mary.DAT
			'Janos's house is more beautiful than Mary's.'			
b. *	János	háza	szebb,	mint	Marinak	
	Janos.NOM	house	more.beautiful	than	Mary.DAT	
			INTENDED: 'Janos's house is more beautiful than Mary's.'			

evaluation of (61)a (=62):

(62)

János-nak	a	[_{PossPA} János-nak háza]	szebb,
J-DAT	the	J-DAT house	more.beautiful
mint	Mari-nak	a [_{PossPE} Mari-nak háza].	
than	M-DAT	the M-DAT house]	
		'Janos's house is more beautiful than Mary's.'	

- global isomorphism: ok (PossPA mutually entails PossPE, modulo \exists -type shifting and F-closure, cf. Merchant 2001)

note: F-closure ensures that focus-marked material in antecedent and ellipsis site are replaced by existentially bound variables of an appropriate type, cf. Merchant 2001 for details

- local isomorphism: is anteceded by

$N_{[+PN]}$ (<i>Mari</i>)	<i>János</i>
$N_{[+\text{count}, \dots]}$ (<i>háza</i>)	<i>háza</i>
$K_{[+DAT]}$	<i>-nak</i>

evaluation of (61)b (=63):

(63) [Poss_{PA} János-Ø háza] szebb,
 J-NOM house more.beautiful
 mint Marinak a [Poss_{PE} Mari-nak háza].
 than M-DAT the M-DAT house]
 'János's house is more beautiful than Mary's.'

- global isomorphism: ok (NP_A mutually entails NP_{ES}, modulo \exists -type shifting and F-closure, cf. Merchant 2001)
- local isomorphism: is anteceded by

N _[+PN] (Mari)	János
N _[+count, ...] (háza)	háza

however: K_[+DAT] is **not** anteceded by -Ø

control: the examples in (61) are well-formed when they are non-elliptical

(64) a. Jánosnak a háza szebb, mint Marinak a háza.
 János.DAT the house more.beautiful than Mary.DAT the house
 'Janos's house is more beautiful than Mary's house.'
 b. János háza szebb, mint Marinak a háza.
 Janos.NOM house more.beautiful than Mary.DAT the house
 'Janos's house is more beautiful than Mary's house.'

→ the case-matching effects on possessors that move out of an NP-ellipsis site can be accounted for by local isomorphism

6.1.1 V-stranding VP-ellipsis (Goldberg 2005, Gribanova 2009)

V-stranding VP-ellipsis is VP-ellipsis in which the main verb has raised out of the ellipsis site

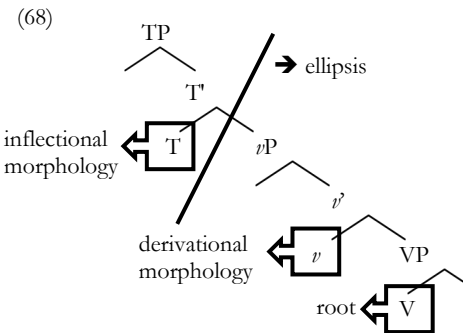
(65) Q: (Ha'im) Miryam hevi'a et Dvora la-xanut?
 Q Miryam bring.PAST.3FSG ACCDvora to.the-store
 '(Did) Miryam bring Dvora to the store?'
 A: Ken, hi hevi'a.
 yes she bring.PAST.3FSG
 'Yes, she brought [Dvora to the store].'

(66) hi hevi'a [VP et Dvora t_{hevi'a} la-xanut]
 ↑

prediction: the parts of the verbal morphology that originate inside the ellipsis site should be subject to local isomorphism; the ones that originate higher should not

prediction is borne out: Goldberg's (2005) Verbal Identity Requirement

(67) **Verbal Identity Requirement** (Goldberg 2005:165)
 The antecedent- and target-clause main Vs of V-stranding VPE must be identical, minimally in their root and derivational morphology. Their inflectional morphology may vary.



same derivational morphology (binyan) and same root: V-stranding VPE = ok

(69) Q: (Ha'im) Miryam hevi'a et Dvora la-xanut?
 Q Miryam bring.PAST.3FSG ACCDvora to.the-store
 '(Did) Miryam bring Dvora to the store?'
 A: Ken, hi hevi'a.
 yes she bring.PAST.3FSG
 INTENDED: 'Yes, she brought [Dvora to the store].'

*different derivational morphology (binyan) and same root: V-stranding VPE = **

(70) Q: Li'ora nas'a etmol le-Tel Aviv?
 Liora travel.PAST.3FSG yesterday to-Tel Aviv
 '(Did) Liora travel yesterday to Tel Aviv?'
 A: * Ken — hisa'ti.
 yes drove.PAST.1SG
 INTENDED: 'Yes—I drove [her yesterday to Tel Aviv].'

same derivational morphology (binyan) and different root: V-stranding VPE = *

- (71) Q: Rivka hisi'a otax le-beit ha-sefer?
 Rivka drive.PAST.3FSG ACC.you.FSG to-house the-book
 '(Did) Rivka drive you to school?'
 A: * Ken, hi hevi'a.
 yes she bring.PAST.3FSG
 INTENDED: 'Yes, she brought [me to school].'

active/passive-mismatches: V-stranding VPE = *

- (72) Q: Aviva xubka al-yedey Yitzchak?
 Aviva be.embraced.PAST.3FSG by Yitzchak
 'Was Aviva hugged by Yitzchak?'
 A: * Ken, hu xibek.
 yes he embrace.PAST.3MSG
 INTENDED: 'Yes, he hugged [her].'

→ the verbal identity requirement on V-stranding VPE can be accounted for by local isomorphism

6.2 The bad news

the problem: certain mismatches between copies of movement in an ellipsis site and their correlate in the antecedent clause are unexpected under local isomorphism

gender mismatch

- (73) Ich weiß auf welches KIND Angela wartet, aber ich weiß nicht
 I know on which child A. waited but I know not
 auf welchen STUDENTEN [TP ___].
 on which student
 'I know which CHILD Angela is waiting for, but not which STUDENT.'

→ local isomorphism: N_[+masculine] is **not** anteceded by *Kind*

number mismatch

- (74) I know John saw one GIRL, but I don't know how many BOYS [TP ___].

→ local isomorphism: N_[+pl] is **not** anteceded by *one girl*

person mismatch

- (75) YOU I like, but HIM I don't [VP ___].

→ local isomorphism: D_[2p] is **not** anteceded by *him*

note: in all these cases the remnant is contrastively focused with respect to its antecedent → perhaps focus marking can exempt phrases from local isomorphism (cf. Merchant's F-closure)?

7. Summary and conclusions

- copular clauses can be used to repair preposition stranding violations under sluicing
- this repair fails when it involves changing the morphological case ending of the sluiced wh-phrase
- this failure to repair can be overcome by using surface forms of the wh-phrase that are compatible both with a copular source and with an isomorphic one
- these facts show that sluicing/ellipsis is subject both to global isomorphism (= semantic parallelism, cf. Merchant's 2001 e-GIVENNESS) and to local isomorphism
- local isomorphism applies after Impoverishment and before vocabulary insertion, global isomorphism applies after vocabulary insertion

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