

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization*

Shoichi Takahashi

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1. Introduction

The main empirical concern of this paper is an ellipsis construction called Pseudogapping, given in (1).¹

(1) John will select me, and Bill will ~~select~~ you. (Lasnik 1999:141)

One might speculate that only a verb *select* is elided in (1). However, as (2) demonstrates, a constituent larger than a verb is elided in Pseudogapping.

(2) I didn't expect your mother to like the picture; but I did ~~expect you to like the picture~~. (Jayaseelan 1990:67)

Jayaseelan (1990) argues that a remnant (e.g., *you* in (1) and (2)) undergoes Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) and VP (the matrix VP in (2)) is elided together with a trace of the remnant. Since Jayaseelan's work, there is a general consensus that Pseudogapping is another incarnation of VP-ellipsis (Lasnik 1999, among others). However, the controversial issue is what type of movement is involved in Pseudogapping. Pointing out some empirical difficulties that Jayaseelan faces, Lasnik (1999) proposes that a remnant moves out of an ellipsis site by Object Shift. The main goal of this paper is to understand the nature of movement involved in Pseudogapping.

Parts of this paper have been presented in the Ling-Lunch at MIT (September 2003), in the 18th Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop at University of Durham (September 2003), in NELS 34 at Stony Brook University (November 2003) and in a colloquium talk at Kanda University of International Studies (January 2004). I would like to thank the audience in these talks for their comments. I am very grateful to Danny Fox, Jon Nissenbaum and David Pesetsky for invaluable discussion and their suggestions. I would also like to thank Klaus Abels, Pranav Anand, Marcel den Dikken, Norvin Richards and Akira Watanabe for their helpful comments. Thanks are also due to the speakers for their judgments. All remaining errors and inadequacies are my own.

¹ The strikethrough material is intended to be elided.

The predictions that Jayaseelan and Lasnik make are clear. For Jayaseelan, we expect that whether some element can be a remnant should be dependent on its possibility of undergoing HNPS. An analogous prediction can be made for Lasnik. In section 2, I examine these predictions primarily on the basis of Pseudogapping in the double object construction. It is shown that both of them are not fully borne out. It is also revealed that if some fact is problematic for the HNPS approach, it can be explained by the Object Shift approach, and vice versa. In section 3, I, therefore, argue that the union of the two approaches is the right way to analyze Pseudogapping. The remainder of the paper considers two potential counterarguments for the Object Shift approach. In section 4, I discuss that facts from contraction in Pseudogapping, which Fox and Pesetsky (2003) present as an argument against the Object Shift approach, are in fact compatible with it. There is another issue which arises in approaches which assume Object Shift in Pseudogapping. That is, there is no clear indication that Object Shift takes place in environments other than Pseudogapping in English. In section 5, I provide a suggestive solution within Fox and Pesetsky's framework of cyclic linearization.

2. Comparing the Approaches

2.1. The HNPS Approach

In this section, I examine Jayaseelan's (1990) approach, which assumes that a remnant in Pseudogapping escapes an ellipsis site by HNPS. This is shown in (3).

- (3) ... and Bill will [~~VP select t_i~~] you_i
└─┬─ HNPS

As mentioned above, the prediction made by the HNPS approach is that only items that can undergo HNPS can be remnants in Pseudogapping.

There are two cases in which this prediction is not borne. The first one has been pointed out by Lasnik (1999). As illustrated in (4), there is an asymmetry in the possibility of undergoing HNPS between an indirect object and a direct object.

- (4) a. *John gave a lot of money the fund for the preservation of VOS languages.
 b. John gave Bill yesterday more money than he had ever seen.
(Lasnik 1999:143)

The HNPS approach correctly explains the fact that Pseudogapping with a direct object remnant in (5) is grammatical since the remnant is an element that can undergo HNPS.²

- (5) Although John wouldn't give Bill the book, he would ~~give Bill~~ the paper.

However, an indirect object can also be a remnant in Pseudogapping, as shown in (6).

² Lasnik (1999) claims that a direct object cannot be a remnant. See Baltin (2003) and Bowers (1998) for the observation that it can be a remnant under certain circumstances.

It is clear that the HNPS approach does not face this problem because there are observable cases of HNPS in English. In addition to this issue, there are two types of challenges to the Object Shift approach.

The first type is analogous to the problem for HPNS. There is a case in which an element that cannot undergo Object Shift can be a remnant:

- (11) 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.

Maintaining the idea that an ellipsis operation only applies to constituents, the Object Shift approach would analyze (11a) and (11b) as (12a) and (12b), respectively.⁴

- (12) a. he would [Susan₁ [~~give t_i the book~~]]
 b. he would [the paper₁ [~~give Bill t_i~~]]

Since we do not find any clear case of Object Shift in English, we observe the one in Scandinavian languages to understand whether the operations in (12a) and (12b) might be allowed in English. As we will observe shortly, an indirect object can undergo Object Shift in these languages. Thus, I assume that Object Shift in (12a) is allowed in English. However, I suggest that Object Shift in (12b) is prohibited in English. Let us first observe the facts in Swedish in which either an indirect or a direct object can undergo Object Shift across the other object, as shown in (13). This is also the case in Norwegian:

- (13) a. Han visade henne inte den. (Swedish)
 he showed her not it
 'He did not show it to her'
 b. Han gav den inte henne.
 he gave it not her
 'He did not give it to her.'
 (Anagnostopoulou 2002:5; see also Hellan and Platzack 1999)

However, a direct object cannot cross over an indirect object by Object Shift in Icelandic, as shown in (14b). This is also true in Danish:

- (14) a. Ég skilaði manningum ekki bókinni. (Icelandic)
 I returned the-man-DAT not the-book-DAT
 b. *Ég skilaði bókinni ekki manningum.
 I returned the-book-DAT not the-man-DAT
 'I did not return the book to the man.'
 (Anagnostopoulou 2002:7; see also Hellan and Platzack 1999)

⁴ Lasnik adopts the split VP hypothesis (Koizumi 1995). In this hypothesis, there is no stage in which a direct object is structurally higher than an indirect object. Thus, there is no way to derive (11b) in this approach. My argument here is that even if we would dispense with the hypothesis and take the potential derivation in (12b) into account, (11b) is still a challenge to the Object Shift approach.

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization

Interestingly, Anagnostopoulou (2002) observes that this difference between the two classes of the languages is correlated with whether a direct object can be passivized across an indirect object in these languages. First, either one of the two objects can be passivized in Swedish, as shown in (15).

- (15) a. Johan förärades en medalj. (Swedish)
John was-presented a medal
'John was presented a medal.'
b. Medaljen förärades Johan.
the-medal was-presented John
'The medal was presented to John.' (Anagnostopoulou 2002:9)

In contrast, Icelandic and Danish do not allow a direct object to move across an indirect object by passivization, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. Jóni var skilað bókunum. (Icelandic)
John-DAT was returned the-book-DAT
'John was given back the book.'
b. *Bókunum var skilað Jóni.
the-book-DAT was returned John-DAT
'The book was returned to John.' (Anagnostopoulou 2002:8)

The generalization that we reach on the basis of the facts above is that a direct object can undergo Object Shift across an indirect object in languages where the former can be passivized across the latter. As shown in (17), passivization of a direct object across an indirect object is not allowed in most dialects of English.

- (17) a. *A book was given Mary.
b. Mary was given a book.

Consequently, I suggest that a direct object cannot move across an indirect object by Object Shift in English. This suggests that the derivation in (12b) is not a possible analysis of Pseudogapping in (11b).

The second type of challenge to the Object Shift approach is as follows. There is some evidence from Scandinavian languages which suggests that Object Shift is A-movement (e.g., the lack of parasitic gap licensing in (21)). Thus, the Object Shift approach predicts that the movement of a remnant patterns with A-movement. However, this prediction is not borne out. To set the stage, recall the following contrast between complements and adjuncts in reconstruction:

- (18) a. *[Whose claim that John_i is nice]₁ did he_i believe t₁?
b. [Which story that John_i wrote]₁ did he_i like t₁? (Lebeaux 1988:146)

The contrast above shows that there is an asymmetry in the possibility of reconstruction between an argumental sentential complement and an adjunct relative clause in A'-

movement. The former must undergo reconstruction and hence, (18a) is ruled out by Principle C. In contrast, a sentential complement does not show an obligatory reconstruction effect in A-movement. Therefore, (19) is grammatical, unlike (18a).

- (19) [The claim that John_i was asleep]_i seems to him_i [t₁ to be correct].
(Chomsky 1993:37)

Given the discussion above, the Object Shift approach predicts that the movement of a remnant should not exhibit an obligatory reconstruction effect of an argumental sentential complement. Sauerland (1998), however, observes that this prediction is not borne out:

- (20) a. *While some granted/told him_i everything, others did ~~grant/tell him_i~~ only the story that John_i had met aliens.
b. While some granted/told him_i everything, others did ~~grant/tell him_i~~ only the story that John_i had evidence for.
(adapted from Sauerland 1998:144)

The fact that (20a) is ungrammatical indicates that an argumental sentential complement obligatorily undergoes reconstruction in the movement involved in Pseudogapping, unlike in A-movement. We here have a reason to suggest that the movement involved should not be A-movement, at least in all cases.

The next evidence against the Object Shift approach comes from the parasitic gap licensing. It is observed that Object Shift cannot license a parasitic gap in Scandinavian languages and this seems to suggest that it patterns with A-movement:

- (21) *Þú setur [Þetta blað]_i ekki t₁ á borðið (Icelandic)
you put this paper not on the table
[án þess að lesa e₁].
without reading
'You didn't put this book on the table without reading.'
(Jónsson 1996:72)

Contrary to what the Object Shift approach would predict, the movement of a remnant in Pseudogapping can license a parasitic gap, as (22) shows.

- (22) Although John didn't file a recent article about HNPS, he did [without reading e₁] [a recent article about Object Shift]_i.

In this section, we have observed some challenges to the Object Shift approach. However, it is crucial to notice that it can account for Pseudogapping with an indirect object remnant in (11a), which is problematic for the HNPS approach.

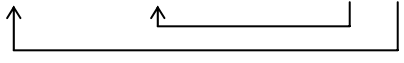
2.3. Interim Conclusion

Among other facts, I have shown that the following Pseudogapping contrast is a challenge to both the HNPS approach and the Object Shift approach:

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization


- (32) a. Jón talaði ekki [PP við Maríu]. (Icelandic)
 Jon spoke not to Mary
 b. *Jón talaði [PP við Maríu]₁ ekki t₁.
 Jon spoke to Mary not
 ‘John didn’t speak to Mary.’ (Thráinsson 2001:151)

Let me finally examine Pseudogapping with multiple remnants. The case in the double object construction is repeated here as (33a). As shown in (34), multiple applications of Object Shift are legitimate in Scandinavian languages. Thus, the derivation in (33b) is available to the eclectic approach.

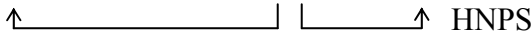
- (33) a. ?John would give Bill a book more often than he would give Susan a paper.
 b. ... than OP₁ he₂ would [XP Susan₃ [XP a paper₄ [_{VP} t₂ give t₃ t₄ t₁ often]]]
 Object Shift

- (34) Jag gav honom den inte. (Swedish)
 I gave him it not
 ‘I didn’t give it to him.’ (Anagnostopoulou 2002:7)

An alternative derivation is also available to (33a). The direct object and the indirect object undergo Object Shift and HNPS, respectively, as shown in (35).

- (35) ... than OP₁ he₂ would [XP Susan₃ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₂ give t₃ t₄ t₁ often] a paper₄]]
 Object Shift HNPS
- 

Pseudogapping with multiple remnants in the dative construction is given in (36a). Since a prepositional phrase cannot undergo Object Shift and HNPS cannot apply multiple times, (36a) should be analyzed as (36b) in the eclectic approach.

- (36) a. Although he wouldn’t give the book to Bill, he would give the paper to Susan.
 b. ... he₁ would [XP the paper₂ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₁ give t₂ t₃] to Susan₃]]
 Object Shift HNPS
- 

In conclusion, I have shown that the eclectic approach straightforwardly captures the possibility of being a remnant. The next section reveals that this approach can also account for the A’-movement properties exhibited by the movement of a remnant.

3.2. Explaining the A’-movement Properties

The fact that the movement of a remnant shows A’-movement properties is not problematic for the eclectic approach because it is equipped with not only Object Shift, but HNPS, which is considered as A’-movement.

First, we have observed that the argumental sentential complement of the remnant must undergo reconstruction, but not the adjunct relative clause, as illustrated in (37).

Shoichi Takahashi

- (37) a. *While some granted/told him_i everything, others did ~~grant/tell him_i~~ only the story that John_i had met aliens.
 b. While some granted/told him_i everything, others did ~~grant/tell him_i~~ only the story that John_i had evidence for.
 (adapted from Sauerland 1998:144)

This contrast, which is generally observed in A'-movement, straightforwardly follows from the proposed approach. Notice that the remnants in (37) are the direct objects in the double object construction. As discussed above, they must undergo HNPS in order to escape an ellipsis site since Object Shift is not an option for it. Thus, the eclectic approach assigns the representation in (38) to (37a).

- (38) ... others₁ did [_{VP} [_{VP} t₁ ~~grant him_i t₂~~] [only the story that John_i had met aliens]₂]
 _____↑ HNPS

Since HNPS is generally regarded as A'-movement, the contrast observed is expected.⁹

Second, it has been shown that a parasitic gap is licensed by the movement of a remnant, as shown in (39).

- (39) Although John didn't file a recent article about HNPS, he did [without reading e₁] [a recent article about Object Shift]₁.

It is clear from the word order in (39) that the remnant moves out of an ellipsis site by HNPS. The fact in (39) is explained by the current approach because HNPS can license a parasitic gap, as observed in Larson (1988), Nissenbaum (2000), among others (see also Postal 1994 for relevant discussion):

- (40) John filed [without reading e₁] [a recent article about global warming]₁.
 (Nissenbaum 2000:32)

In contrast to (39), Baltin (2003) observes that a parasitic gap cannot be licensed by the movement in Pseudogapping. The relevant example is given in (41).

- (41) *Although John didn't kiss Mary, he did Sally_i without looking at e_i.
 (adapted from Baltin 2003:241)

The crucial difference between (39) and (41) is the position of the remnant relative to the adjunct phrase. Since it precedes a gap in (41), I suggest that the movement involved is Object Shift, which cannot license a parasitic gap (see (21) for relevant observation). What the eclectic approach predicts based on the discussion above is that a parasitic gap

⁹ The eclectic approach makes the following prediction. In cases where an indirect object in the double object construction is a remnant, it should show an anti-reconstruction effect with respect to Principle C, as we have observed in A-movement in (19). This is because Object Shift is the only option for it. Unfortunately, I have not found a configuration in which this prediction can be examined. But, see the discussion on the parasitic gap licensing, which is based on the same logic.

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization

is licensed by the movement of a direct object, but not an indirect object in the double object construction. This is because HNPS is applicable to the former, but not to the latter. As shown in (42) and (43), this prediction is borne out.

- (42) Although John didn't give the boy a short paper, he did [without reading e_1] [a long paper]₁.
- (43) a. *Although John didn't give the tall boy a book, he did [without meeting e_1] [the short boy]₁.
b. *Although John didn't give the tall boy a book, he did [the short boy]₁ [without meeting e_1].

Pseudogapping in (43a) is ruled out independently of the parasitic gap because it just cannot undergo HNPS and cannot follow the adjunct phrase. On the other hand, the existence of the parasitic gap makes (43b) ungrammatical since the movement of the remnant is Object Shift in this case and the parasitic gap is not licensed.

This section has shown that the facts that are challenges to the Object Shift approach can be accounted for by the eclectic approach because it has HNPS as an option. In the next section, I take up an apparent argument against the Object Shift approach raised by Fox and Pesetsky (2003).

4. Contraction in Pseudogapping

This section deals with an apparent counterevidence to the analysis that Object Shift can be involved in Pseudogapping. The issue that is raised by Fox and Pesetsky (2003) is the following. It is well known that contracted forms are disallowed immediately before an ellipsis site (Bresnan 1973, King 1970, among others). This point is illustrated in (44b).¹⁰

- (44) a. John is leaving and Mary is, too.
b. *John is leaving and Mary's, too.
c. John is leaving but Mary's not. (Lobeck 1995:156)

As shown in (44c), if there is a phonologically overt item like negation between the tensed auxiliary and the elided constituent, a contracted form of the tensed auxiliary is allowed. This paradigm raises a question under the assumption that Object Shift can be a movement operation in Pseudogapping. I have argued that if an indirect object in the double object construction is a remnant, it must move out of vP by Object Shift, as shown in (45).

- (45) a. Although he wouldn't give Bill the book, he would Susan.
b. [_{TP} he₁ would [_{XP} Susan₂ [_{vP} t₁ give t₂ the book]]]

¹⁰ Although contracted forms are also prohibited immediately before an extraction site (see King 1970 for relevant discussion), I concentrate on facts in ellipsis here.

Given this structure, we predict that a contracted form of the tensed auxiliary would be possible in Pseudogapping with an indirect object remnant because there is a phonologically overt material between an auxiliary and an elided site, namely, the indirect object. However, this prediction is not borne out, as shown in (46a).

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

In the following, I suggest that the facts should be viewed differently. A motivation for this suggestion is that contraction can sometime take place immediately before an ellipsis site. As King (1970) observes, negation can be contracted in this environment, as shown in (47).

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

What is the difference between (44b) and (47)? If the facts were captured based on the relative position between a contracted element and an ellipsis site, like the way we described above, it would be difficult to distinguish one from the other. My suggestion is that there should be a structural condition which states that VP-ellipsis is licensed by a non-contracted licensing head.¹¹ This captures the contrast between (44a) and (44b) because there is a non-contracted licensing head (i.e., the tensed auxiliary) in the former, but not in the latter. At the same time, this accounts for (47). Since the tensed auxiliary is a non-contracted licensing head, negation can be contracted even though it is immediately before the ellipsis site. I suggest that contraction of the tensed auxiliary is possible in (44c) because negation as well as the tensed auxiliary is a licensing head and the former is not contracted.

As discussed in Potsdam (1997), this idea is supported by VP-ellipsis in subjunctive complements. To set the stage, let us first observe the fact that no element under T node can appear overtly in subjunctive complements:

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

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 (49a). Interestingly, VP-ellipsis becomes possible if there is negation, as shown in (49b).

- (49) 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 1997:538)

¹¹ This licensing condition is the first approximation. It is very likely that there are some other constraints on licensing VP-ellipsis, which are not relevant for the present discussion (see Lobeck 1995 for detailed discussion on the licensing condition on VP-ellipsis).

The fact that (49b) is legitimate VP-ellipsis indicates that negation is a licensing head.

Given this characterization of the facts, the impossibility of contraction in (46a) is not problematic for the Object Shift approach. Even though the indirect object intervenes between the auxiliary and the ellipsis site, it is not a licensing head and hence, the auxiliary is prevented from being contracted. Thus, (46a) is compatible with the proposed approach.

5. Cyclic Linearization

The eclectic approach inherits one of the problems of the Object Shift approach. While (50) is illegitimate, it is the structure in which vP is elided in Pseudogapping. In the proposed approach, the question is why (50) becomes legitimate if vP is elided.

(50) *John₁ [_{XP} Mary₂ [_{vP} t₁ gave t₂ the book]]

Adopting Fox and Pesetsky's (2003) insights, I discuss that this issue should be examined in the context of linearization and can be solved by their cyclic linearization theory, which explains several relevant facts in a unified way.

The fact that (50) is not allowed is strongly reminiscent of Holmberg's (1986, 1999) generalization. Holmberg observes that Object Shift in Scandinavian languages is dependent on verb movement, as illustrated by the contrast in (51).¹²

- (51) a. Jag kysste henne₁ inte [_{VP} t_v t₁]. (Swedish)
I kissed her not
b. *Jag har henne₁ inte [_{VP} kysst t₁].
I have her not kissed (Holmberg 1999:1)

We can characterize a situation common to (50) and (51b) in the following way. A verb precedes an object at one stage of the derivation (i.e., at the underlying structure), but the latter precedes the former at another stage of the derivation (i.e., at the surface structure).

Based on this characterization, Fox and Pesetsky propose that relative orders among lexical elements are determined by Spell-out in a cyclic fashion. Furthermore, once relative orders are established, they must be preserved throughout a derivation (see also Müller 2001, Sells 2001 and Williams 2003 for similar ideas). On the assumption that the first Spell-out domain contains a verb and an object, they argue that (51a) is legitimate because the relative order between the two established by the first Spell-out (i.e., the former precedes the latter) is preserved throughout the derivation as a consequence of verb movement and Object Shift. However, this is not the case in (50) and (51b), due to the lack of verb movement and hence, Object Shift is illegitimate in

¹² Holmberg (1999) emphasizes that this fact is an incarnation of a more general generalization.

these cases.¹³ As suggested in Fox and Pesetsky, their framework provides an answer to the issue raised above. The relative order between the verb and the object established by the first Spell-out has loses its effect in Pseudogapping because *vP* is elided and the verb is not linearized. This is the reason why an otherwise illegitimate Object Shift in (50) is saved by ellipsis.¹⁴

6. Conclusion

The main claim of this paper has been that both HNPS and Object Shift are necessary to derive all instances of Pseudogapping. I have argued that this eclectic approach not only explains the facts, but is conceptually most natural. In order to understand the nature of Object Shift in English, which I have argued is involved in Pseudogapping, we have observed the one in Scandinavian languages in which Object Shift is clearly observable. It has been revealed that two potential counterarguments against the Object Shift approach can be explained away. First, I have argued that, given a different characterization of the contraction facts in Pseudogapping, they are compatible with the Object Shift approach. I have also suggested that Fox and Pesetsky's cyclic linearization framework accounts for the issue that Object Shift is confined to Pseudogapping in English, together with Holmberg's generalization.

References

- Anagnostopoulou, E. 2002. Movement across Phonologically Visible Categories. Handout of the talk at Ling-Lunch at MIT.
- Baltin, M. 2003. The Interaction of Ellipsis and Binding: Implications for the Sequencing of Principle A. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21:215-246.
- Bowers, J. 1998. On Pseudo-gapping. Ms., Cornell University.
- Bresnan, J. 1973. Syntax of the Comparative Clause Construction in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4:275-343.
- Chomsky, N. 1993. A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. In *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. by K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 1-52. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Collins, C., and H. Thráinsson. 1996. VP-internal Structure and Object Shift in Icelandic. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:391-444.
- Fox, D., and D. Pesetsky. 2003. Cyclic Linearization and the Typology of Movement. Lecture Notes, MIT.
[downloadable from http://web.mit.edu/linguistics/www/fox/July_19_handout.pdf]
- Hellan, L., and C. Platzack. 1999. Pronouns in Scandinavian Languages: An Overview. In *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, ed. by H. van Riemsdijk, 123-142. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holmberg, A. 1986. Word Order and Syntactic Features in the Scandinavian Languages and English. Doctoral dissertation, University of Stockholm.

¹³ It is certainly true that an object sometimes ends up with preceding a verb, just like (50) and (51b) (e.g., *wh*-movement of an object). See Fox and Pesetsky (2003) for the analysis of such cases.

¹⁴ Holmberg (1999:fn. 13) suggests a prediction which is similar to this idea.

Pseudogapping and Cyclic Linearization

- Holmberg, A. 1999. Remarks on Holmberg's Generalization. *Studia Linguistica* 53:1-39.
- Holmberg, A., and C. Platzack. 1995. *The Role of Inflection in Scandinavian Syntax*. Oxford University Press.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. 1990. Incomplete VP Deletion and Gapping. *Linguistic Analysis* 20:64-81.
- Johnson, K. 2001. What VP Ellipsis Can Do, and What It Can't, But Not Why. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by M. Baltin and C. Collins, 439-479. Blackwell Publishers.
- Jónsson, J. 1996. Clausal Architecture and Case in Icelandic. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- King, H. 1970. On Blocking the Rules for Contraction in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1:134-136.
- Koizumi M. 1995. Phrase Structure in Minimalist Syntax. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Larson, R. 1988. Light Predicate Raising. *MIT Centre for Cognitive Science: Lexicon Working Papers vol. 27*. Cambridge, Mass.: MITWPL.
- Lasnik, H. 1999. Pseudogapping Puzzles. In *Fragments: Studies in Ellipsis and Gapping*, ed. by S. Lappin and E. Benmamoun, 141-174. Oxford University Press.
- Lebeaux, D. 1988. Language Acquisition and the Form of Grammar. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Lobeck, A. 1995. *Ellipsis: Functional Heads, Licensing, and Interpretation*. Oxford University Press.
- Müller, G. 2001. Order Preservation, Parallel Movement, and the Emergence of the Unmarked. In *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*, ed. by G. Legendre, J. Grimshaw and S. Vikner, 279-313. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Nissenbaum, J. 2000. Investigation of Covert Phrase Movement. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Pesetsky, D. 1995. *Zero Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Postal, P. 1994. Parasitic and Pseudoparasitic Gaps. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25:63-117.
- Potsdam, E. 1997. NegP and Subjunctive Complements in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28:533-541.
- Sauerland, U. 1998. The Meaning of Chains. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Sells, P. 2001. *Structure, Alignment and Optimality in Swedish*. CSLI Publications.
- Thráinsson, H. 2001. Object Shift and Scrambling. In *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, ed. by M. Baltin and C. Collins, 148-202. Blackwell Publishers.
- Williams, E. 2003. *Representation Theory*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, E39-230
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
77 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02139

s_t@mit.edu