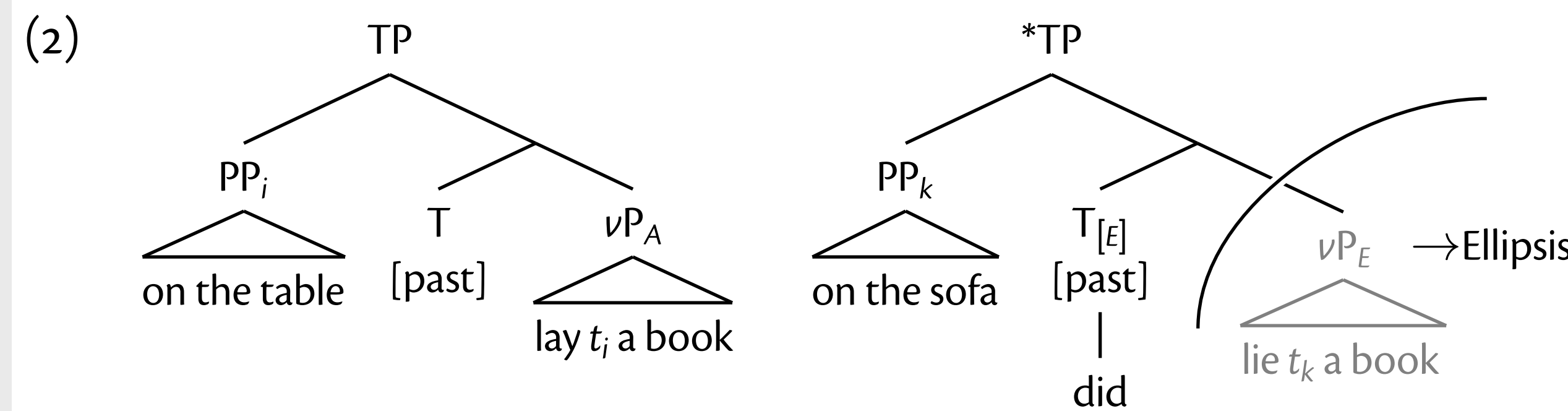




The Problem

Given straightforward analyses of ellipsis and locative inversion, (1) should be grammatical, but it is bad with ellipsis.

- (1) a. *On the table lay a book, and on the sofa did ~~lie a book~~ too.
 b. *Out of the barracks will march fifty soldiers, and out of the hangar will also ~~march fifty soldiers~~.



The [E] Feature

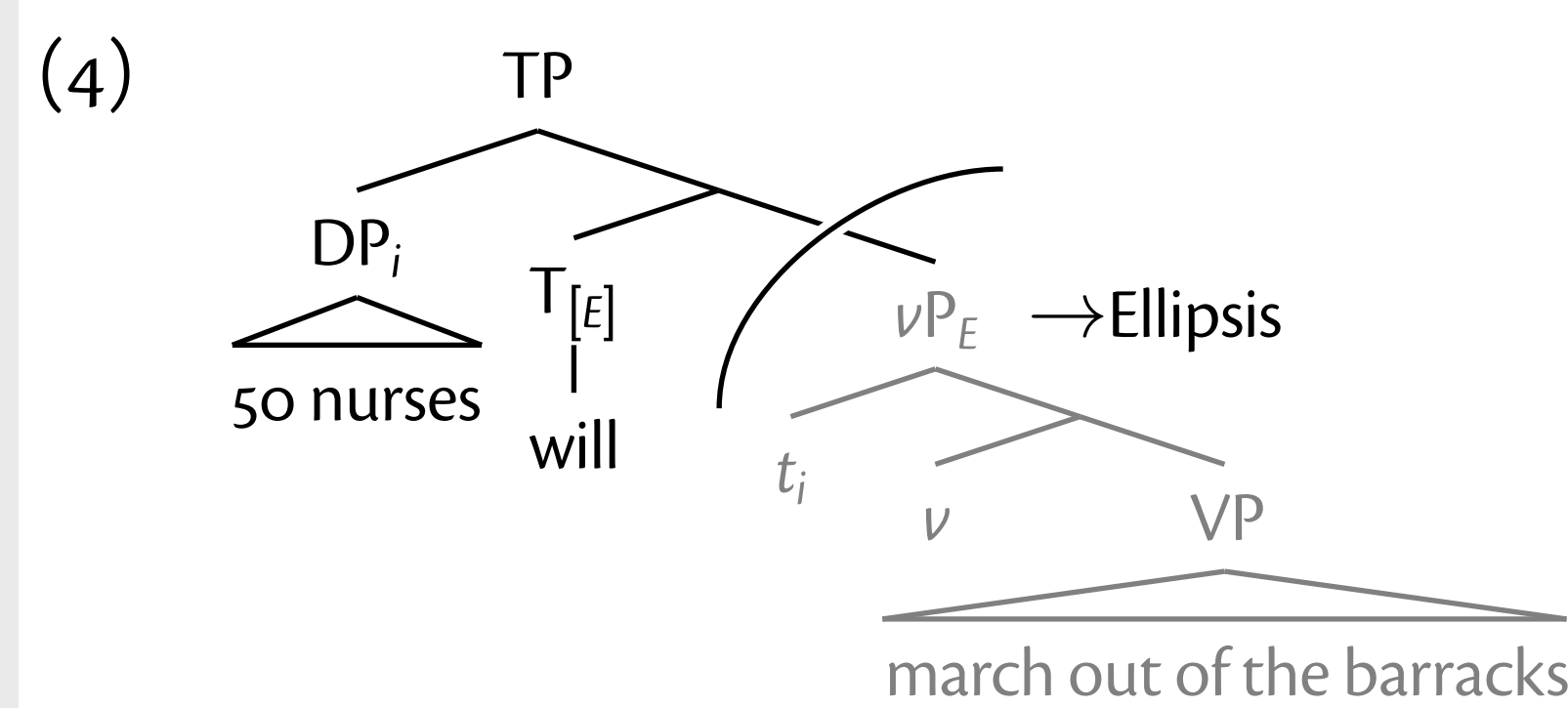
The standard approach to ellipsis comes from Merchant (2001).

- ▶ Merchant posits a feature [E].
- ▶ Sits on an functional heads, triggers the PF-deletion of complement.
- ▶ Imposes identity on the elided constituent.

Identity requires the deleted phrase to match some antecedent in some way.

- ▶ Ellipsis needs some spoken antecedent to be felicitous (Hankamer and Sag 1976)
- ▶ Redundant material is deleted (Rooth 1992) – elided material must be recoverable.
- ▶ Whether this identity is isomorphism over (LF) structures (Sag 1976) or semantic representations (Merchant 2001) remains controversial.

- (3) Fifty soldiers marched out of the barracks_{VP_A}, and fifty nurses will ~~march out of the barracks~~_{VP_E} too.



Locative Inversion

Locative inversion involves a preverbal locative PP and a postposed DP that would otherwise be the subject of the clause:

- ▶ The locative PP occurs before the verb and any auxiliaries or modals.
- ▶ The logical subject appears after the verb, before adverbials. Compare (5a) and (5b)
- ▶ The logical subject receives stress.

- (5) a. Fifty soldiers will march out of the barracks (in lock-step).
Subject Locative PP
- b. Out of the barracks will march fifty soldiers (in lock-step).
Locative PP Logical Subject

Where are these elements?

Locative PPs Are in SpecTP

PPs undergo raising (Postal 1977:148):

- (6) Out of the barracks_i appeared [_{TP} t_i to march fifty soldiers].

Inversion bleeds tag-questions (Bresnan 1994:97):

- (7) *? Out of the barracks marched the sergeant, didn't he?

This behavior is consistent with the locative PP being in SpecTP (Bresnan 1994).

Logical Subjects Are in vP

A string containing a verb and a postposed logical subject can be coordinated with another such string. Thus the strings appear to be constituents.

- (8) Out of the hangar will march fifty soldiers and run sixty nurses.

As mentioned above, logical subjects occur to the left of manner adverbials and the right of the main verb.¹

- (9) a. *Out of the house ran quickly Mary.

- b. Out of the house ran Mary quickly.

Provided these adverbials adjoin no higher than vP (Ernst 2001), this shows that the subject is internal to vP. (See the handout for details!)

What's Wrong?

The above diagnostics suggest that the basic structures in (2) are correct.

- ▶ Given this, vP_A is identical to vP_E (modulo the index of the traces).²
- ▶ Thus the vPs should be identical for the purposes of the identity requirement.
- ▶ This should be true regardless of whether identity is structural or semantic.³

The problem is not likely to be due to the locative PP.

- ▶ No clear reason why ellipsis would care about the category of the element in SpecTP.
- ▶ Elements extracted from ellipsis sites need not match (Merchant 2001, Schuyler 2001).

So why does ellipsis fail in (1)?

- ▶ The [E] feature on T° should license ellipsis if the identity requirement is met.

If we aren't running afoul of the identity requirement, something else must be wrong.

- ▶ Ellipsis and locative inversion must be incompatible in some other way.

Discourse

Locative inversion involves focusing logical subjects Bresnan (1994).

- ▶ Focused information is discourse-new (Rizzi 1997:285).
- ▶ Inversion generally postposes discourse-new information, with discourse old information preceding it (Birner 1994:244).

Notably, ellipsis deletes given information (Merchant 2001).

- ▶ Ellipsis requires a salient antecedent provided in the discourse.
- ▶ Given the identity requirement, this means that the material deleted by ellipsis must be available elsewhere in the discourse.

The question is whether these operations are compatible.

Hypothesis: Focus, Accent, and Deletion

Ellipsis and locative inversion do somewhat opposite things.

- ▶ Locative inversion focuses new information.
- ▶ Ellipsis deletes redundant material.

I'd like to suggest that their discourse properties make them mutually incompatible.

- ▶ Intuition: If you focus something, it isn't redundant.
- ▶ Eliding the vP containing the logical subject deletes a focused element.

It has been claimed elsewhere that elision of focused does not occur.

- ▶ Merchant (2001:26, fn. 9) notes that a deleted constituent will not contain any focused material.
- ▶ Takahashi and Fox (2005) suggest that there is a constraint against deleting focused material.

This restriction on ellipsis explains the badness of (1).

Remaining Issues

Deletion containing more than just the inverted vP is good.⁴

- (10) a. Sluicing:
 On one of the sofas lay a book, but I don't remember on which sofa.
- b. Embedded Clauses:
 Mary said that on one of the sofas lay a book about syntax, and Bill did too.

One explanation: The deleted constituent doesn't contain locative inversion at all.

- ▶ Although pragmatically different, sentences with inversion are truth-conditionally equivalent to those without (all other things equal) (see Bresnan 1994).
- ▶ If we assume a semantic identity requirement for ellipsis (Merchant 2001), then inverted and non-inverted sentences would be equivalent for the sake of ellipsis licensing.
- ▶ Thus, the elided elements in (10) do not have to have inversion, and therefore, they do not run against the restriction against deleting focused material.

Notes

1. Heavy subjects can appear to the right of manner adverbials (Culicover and Levine 2001).
2. See Sag 1976 for the identity of traces.
3. This assumes that structural identity implies semantic identity.
4. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing out these examples.

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